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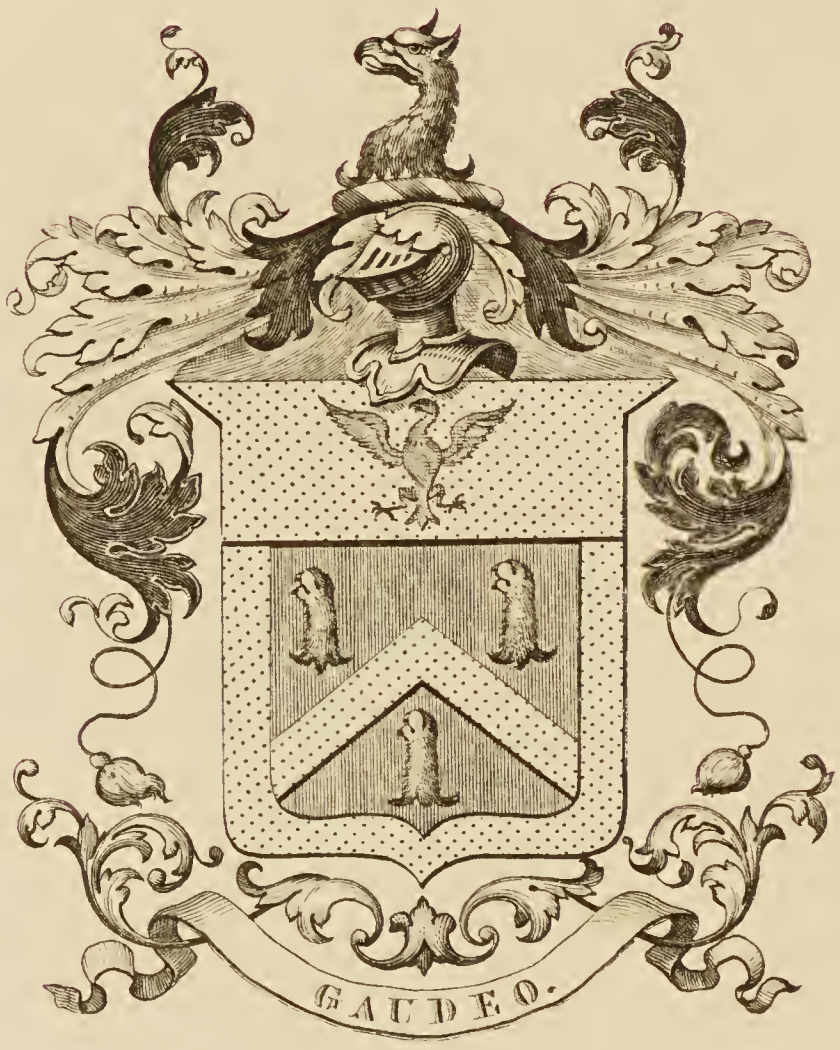

John Carter Brown.

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THE CELEBRATED

SPEECH

OF A CELEBRATED

COMMONER.

" *Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the Houſe*
" *what is really my Opinion. It is, that the Stamp-*
" *Act be* REPEALED ABSOLUTELY, TOTALLY,
" *and* IMMEDIATELY."

Mr. P—TT.

LONDON:

Printed for STEPHEN AUSTIN, in *Ludgate-Street.*

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A

Celebrated Speech.

IT is neceſſary to inform the reader, that ſome time before the meeting of parliament, a report had been artfully propagated, that the miniſtry had changed their minds with regard to the Stamp-Act, and, inſtead of repealing, were reſolved to enforce it. If it could be proved, that this report did not come originally from the favourites of a certain northern nobleman, yet it was certainly much indebted to them for its progreſs, which was ſo great as to affect the ſtocks.

The king's ſpeech to the parliament on the 14th of January, 1766, gave ſome colour to the ſuggeſtion; but when the gentlemen had ſpoke who moved for the addreſs, and who ſeconded it; nothing could be clearer, than that the miniſtry perſiſted in their intention to promote the repeal. The friends of the late miniſtry applauded the king's ſpeech, and approved of the propoſed addreſs, which, as uſual, only recapitulated the ſpeech.

The oppoſition took great offence at the tenderneſs of expreſſion, that the two firſt gentlemen had made uſe of concerning America. Mr. Nugent particularly inſiſted, "That the HONOR and dignity of the kingdom, obliged us to compel the execu-

tion of the Stamp-Act, except the right was acknowledged, and the repeal ſolicited as a favour. He computed the expence of the troops now employed in America for their defence, as he called it, to amount to nine-pence in the pound of our land-tax; while the produce of the Stamp-Act would not raiſe a ſhilling a head on the inhabitants of America; but that a pepper-corn, in acknowledgement of the right, was of more value, than millions without. He expatiated on the extreme ingratitude of the Colonies; and concluded, with charging the miniſtry with encouraging petitions to parliament, and inſtructions to members from the trading and manufacturing towns, againſt the Act."

Mr. Pitt was the next ſpeaker. Every friend of his country rejoiced to ſee him again in that houſe, and more ſo, in ſuch perfect health. As he always begins very low, and as every body was in agitation at his firſt riſing, his introduction was not heard, 'till he ſaid, "I came to town but to-day; I was a ſtranger to the tenor of his majeſty's ſpeech, and the propoſed addreſs, 'till I heard them read in this houſe. Unconnected and unconſulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through miſtake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a ſecond reading of the propoſed addreſs." The addreſs being read, Mr. Pitt went on:—"He commended the king's ſpeech, approved of the addreſs in anſwer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take ſuch a part concerning America, as he might afterwards ſee fit. One word only he could not approve of, an EARLY, is a word that does not belong to the notice the miniſtry have given to parliament of the troubles in America.

In

In a matter of ſuch importance, the communication ought to have been immediate: I ſpeak not with reſpect to parties; I ſtand up in this place ſingle and unconnected. As to the late miniſtry, (turning himſelf to Mr. G---lle, who ſat within one of him) every capital meaſure they have taken, has been entirely wrong!

"As to the preſent gentlemen, to thoſe at leaſt whom I have in my eye, (looking at the bench where Mr. Conway ſat, with the lords of the Treaſury) I have no objection; I have never been made a ſacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad when men of fair character engage in his majeſty's ſervice. Some of them have done me the honor to aſk my poor opinion, before they would engage. Theſe will do me the juſtice to own, I adviſed them to engage; but notwithſtanding—I love to be explicit—I cannot give them my confidence; pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the miniſtry) confidence is a plant of ſlow growth in an aged boſom: youth is the ſeaſon of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reaſoning from effects to cauſes, methinks, I plainly diſcover the traces of an overruling influence.

"There is a clauſe in the act of ſettlement, to oblige every miniſter to ſign his name to the advice which he gives his ſovereign. Would it were obſerved!—I have had the honour to ſerve the crown, and if I could have ſubmitted to influence, I might have ſtill continued to ſerve; but I would not be reſponſible for others.—I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me, whether a man was rock'd in his cradle on this ſide or that ſide of the Tweed.—I ſought for merit wherever it was to be found.

found.—It is my boaſt, that I was the firſt miniſter who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew it into your ſervice, an hardy and intrepid race of men! men, who, when left by your jealouſy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the ſtate, in the war before the laſt. Theſe men, in the laſt war, were brought to combat on your ſide: they ſerved with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: deteſted be the national reflections againſt them!—they are unjuſt, groundleſs, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceaſed to ſerve his majeſty as a miniſter, it was not the COUNTRY of the man by which I was moved—but THE MAN of that country wanted WISDOM, and held principles incompatible with FREEDOM.

It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, ſince I have attended in parliament. When the reſolution was taken in the houſe to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, ſo great was the agitation of my mind for the conſequences! I would have ſolicited ſome kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my teſtimony againſt it. It is now an act that has paſſed—I would ſpeak with decency of every act of this houſe, but I muſt beg the indulgence of the houſe to ſpeak of it with freedom.

" I hope a day may be ſoon appointed, to conſider the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to America.—I hope, gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his majeſty recommends, and the importance of the ſub-

ject

ject requires. A ſubject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention of this houſe! that ſubject only excepted, when near a century ago, it was the queſtion, whether you yourſelves were to be bond, or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, ſuch is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to ſay a few words at preſent, leaving the juſtice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act, to another time. I will only ſpeak to one point, a point which ſeems not to have been generally underſtood—I mean to the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. N—t) ſeem to have conſidered it as a point of HONOR. If gentlemen conſider it in that light, they leave all meaſures of right and wrong, to follow a deluſion that may lead to deſtruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the ſame time, I aſſert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies, to be ſovereign and ſupreme, in every circumſtance of government and legiſlation whatſoever.—They are the ſubjects of of this kingdom, equally intitled with yourſelves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Engliſhmen. Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the conſtitution of this free country. The Americans are the ſons, not the baſtards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legiſlative power.—The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legiſlation the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only neceſſary to cloſe with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy poſſeſſed the lands. In thoſe days, the ba-

rons

rons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At preſent, ſince the diſcovery of America, and other circumſtances permitting, the commons are become the proprietors of the land. The crown has diveſted itſelf of its great eſtates. The church (God bleſs it) has but a pittance. The property of the lords, compared with that of the commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean: and this houſe repreſents thoſe commons, the proprietors of the lands; and thoſe proprietors virtually repreſent the reſt of the inhabitants. When therefore in this houſe we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majeſty's commons of Great-Britain, give and grant to your majeſty, what? Our own property?—No. We give and grant to your majeſty the property of your majeſty's commons of America.—It is an abſurdity in terms.—

" The diſtinction between legiſlation and taxation is eſſentially neceſſary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legiſlative powers with the commons. If taxation be a part of ſimple legiſlation, the crown, the peers have rights in taxation as well as yourſelves: rights which they will claim, which they will exerciſe, whenever the principle can be ſupported by POWER.

" There is an idea in ſome, that the colonies are virtually repreſented in this houſe. I would fain know by whom an American is repreſented here? Is he repreſented by any knight of the ſhire, in any county in this kingdom? WOULD TO GOD THAT RESPECTABLE REPRESENTATION WAS AUGMENTED TO A GREATER NUMBER!

NUMBER! Or will you tell him that he is repreſented by any repreſentative of a borough—a borough, which perhaps no man ever ſaw—This is what is called, the ROTTEN PART OF the CONSTITUTION.—It cannot continue the century—If it does not drop, it muſt be amputated.—The idea of a virtual repreſentation of America in this houſe, is the moſt contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man—It does not deſerve a ſerious refutation.

" The commons of America, repreſented in their ſeveral aſſemblies, have ever been in poſſeſſion of the exerciſe of this, their conſtitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been ſlaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the ſame time, this kingdom, as the ſupreme governing and legiſlative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and reſtrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their conſent.

" Here I would draw the line,

Quam ultra citraque nequit conſiſtere rectum."

He concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but ſo low, that it was not eaſy to diſtinguiſh what he ſaid. A conſiderable pauſe enſued after Mr. Pitt had done ſpeaking—Mr. C--n--y then got up. He ſaid, " he had been waiting to ſee whether any anſwer would be given, to what had been advanced by the right honourable gentleman, reſerving himſelf for the reply : but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his own ſentiments

ments were entirely conformable to thoſe of the right honourable gentleman.—That they are ſo conformable, he ſaid, is a circumſtance that affects me with moſt ſenſible pleaſure, and does me the greateſt honour. But two things fell from that gentleman which give me pain; as whatever falls from that gentleman, falls from ſo great a height as to make a deep impreſſion.—I muſt endeavour to remove it.—It was objected, that the notice given to parliament of the troubles in America was not early. I can aſſure the houſe, the firſt accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of parliament. It is only of late that they have been preciſe and full. An over-ruling influence has alſo been hinted at. I ſee nothing of it—I feel nothing of it—I diſclaim it for myſelf, and (as far as my diſcernment can reach) for all the reſt of his majeſty's miniſters. Mr. Pitt ſaid, in anſwer to Mr. C—y, "The excuſe is a valid one, if it is a juſt one. That muſt appear from the papers now before the houſe." In the interim, Mr. G—lle had recovered himſelf. He avoided meddling with the doctrine of taxation being confined to the houſe of commons, and being founded on the free gift of the collective body, through the medium of their repreſentatives; neither did he attempt to defend the virtual repreſentation of America; but began with cenſuring the preſent miniſtry very ſeverely, for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the diſturbances in America. He ſaid, "They began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, (the word uſed in the king's ſpeech on the 17th of December) they are now grown to diſturbances, to tumults, and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed,

firmed, I fear they will loſe that name to take that of Revolution. The government over them being diſſolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot underſtand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the ſame in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom is the ſovereign, the ſupreme legiſlative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that ſovereign power. It is one branch of the legiſlation. It is, it has been exerciſed, over thoſe who are not, who were never repreſented. It is exerciſed over the India company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the ſtocks, and over many great manufacturing towns. It was exerciſed over the palatinate of Cheſter, and the biſhoprick of Durham, before they ſent any repreſentatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them repreſentatives: the one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II." Mr. G—lle then quoted the STATUTES EXACTLY, and deſired that they might be read; which being done, he reſumed his diſcourſe: "When I propoſed to tax America, I aſked the houſe, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly aſked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me where the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to aſk it. That protection has always been afforded them in the moſt full and ample manner. The nation has run itſelf into an immenſe debt to give them their protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a ſmall ſhare towards the public expence,

an expence ariſing from themſelves, they renounce your authority, inſult your officers, and break out, I might almoſt ſay, into open rebellion. The ſeditious ſpirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this houſe. Gentlemen are careleſs of the conſequences of what they ſay, provided it anſwers the purpoſes of oppoſition. We were told, we trod on tender grouud; we were bid to expect diſobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to ſtand out againſt the law, to encourage their obſtinacy with the expectation of ſupport from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would ſay, our friends will ſoon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour to ſerve the crown, while you yourſelves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of the Britiſh commerce; and yet I have been abuſed in all the public papers, as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and inſtructions to prevent the Spaniſh trade, and thereby ſtopping the channel, by which alone North America uſed to be ſupplied with caſh for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any ſuch orders or inſtructions. I diſcouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I deſire a Weſt-India merchant, well known in the city, (Mr. Long) a gentleman of character, may be examined. He will tell you, that I offered to do every thing in my power to advance the trade of America. I was above giving an anſwer to anonymous calumnies;

nies; but in this place, it becomes one to wipe off the aſperſion.

Here Mr. Grenville ceaſed. Several members got up to ſpeak, but Mr. Pitt ſeeming to riſe, the houſe was ſo clamorous for Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt, that the Speaker was obliged to call to order.

After obtaining a little quiet, he ſaid, " Mr. Pitt was up;" who began with informing the houſe, " That he did not mean to have gone any further upon the ſubject that day; that he had only deſigned to have thrown out a few hints, which, gentlemen, who were ſo confident of the right of this kingdom to ſend taxes to America, might conſider; might perhaps reflect, in a cooler moment, that the right was at leaſt equivocal. But ſince the gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, had not ſtopped on that ground, but had gone into the whole; into the juſtice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the Stamp-Act, as well as into the right, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point."

He was going on, when lord Strange got up, and called both the gentlemen, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Grenville, to order. He ſaid, " they had both departed from the matter before the houſe, which was the king's ſpeech; and that Mr. Pitt was going to ſpeak twice on the ſame debate, although the houſe was not in a committee."

Mr. George Onſlow anſwered, " That they were both in order, as nothing had been ſaid, but what was fairly deducible from the king's ſpeech," and appealed to the Speaker. The Speaker decided in Mr. Onſlow's favour.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, " I do not apprehend I am ſpeaking twice: I did expreſsly reſerve a part of my ſubject, in order to ſave the time of this houſe, but I am compell'd to proceed in it. I do not ſpeak twice; I only finiſhed what I deſignedly left imperfect. But if the houſe is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wiſh of tranſgreſſion, againſt order. I am content, if it be your pleaſure, to be ſilent."—Here he pauſed—The houſe reſounding with, " Go on, go on;" he proceeded:

" Gentlemen, Sir, (to the Speaker) I have been charged with giving birth to ſedition in America. They have ſpoken their ſentiments with freedom againſt this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of ſpeech in this houſe imputed as a crime. But the imputation ſhall not diſcourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exerciſe. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exerciſe it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have deſiſted from his project. The gentleman tells us, America is obſtinate; America is almoſt in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has reſiſted. Three millions of people, ſo dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to ſubmit to be ſlaves, would have been fit inſtruments to make ſlaves of the reſt. I come not here arm'd at all points, with law caſes and acts of parliament, with the ſtatute book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend the cauſe of liberty: if I had, I myſelf would have cited the two caſes of Cheſter and Durham. I would have cited them to have ſhewn, that, even under arbitrary reigns, parliaments were aſhamed of taxing a people without their conſent,

and

and allowed them repreſentatives. Why did the gentleman confine himſelf to Cheſter and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament, 'till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman: I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent reſearches. But, for the defence of liberty upon a general principle, upon a conſtitutional principle, it is a ground on which I ſtand firm; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not repreſented. The India company, merchants, ſtock-holders, manufacturers. Surely many of theſe are repreſented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not actually repreſented. But they are all inhabitants, and as ſuch are virtually repreſented. Many have it in their option to be actually repreſented. They have connexions with thoſe that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the ſtock-holders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as part of the national eſtate. Since the acceſſion of king William, many miniſters, ſome of great, others of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government."

He then went through the liſt of them, bringing it down 'till he came to himſelf, giving a ſhort ſketch of the characters of each of them. "None of theſe, he ſaid, thought, or ever dreamed, of robbing the coloni.s of their conſtitutional rights. That was reſerved to mark the æra of the late adminiſtration: not that there were wanting ſome, when I had the honour to ſerve his majeſty, to propoſe to me to burn my fingers with an American

rican Stamp-Act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition; but it would have been taking an ungenerous, and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America! Are those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are, where is his peculiar merit to America? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America, I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern. The greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both.

" If the gentleman does not understand the difference between internal and external taxes, I cannot help it; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? But I desire to know, when they were made slaves? But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his majesty, I availed myself of the means of information, which I derived from

my

my office: I ſpeak therefore, from knowledge. My materials were good. I was at pains to collect, to digeſt, to conſider them, and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great-Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the laſt war. The eſtates that were rented at two thouſand pounds a year, threeſcore years ago, are at three thouſand pounds at preſent. Thoſe eſtates ſold then from fifteen to eighteen years purchaſe; the ſame may be now ſold for thirty. You owe this to America. This is the price that America pays you for her protection. And ſhall a miſerable financier come with a boaſt that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, to the loſs of millions to the nation! I dare not ſay, how much higher theſe profits may be augmented. Omitting the immenſe increaſe of people, by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the migration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the whole commercial ſyſtem of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited, where you ought to have encouraged; and you have encouraged, where you ought to have prohibited. Improper reſtraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the iſlands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in conſequence of treaties remain, but let not an Engliſh miniſter become a cuſtom-houſe officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong, much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

Does the gentleman complain he has been miſrepreſented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spaniſh affair in the laſt war, I was abuſed in all the news-papers, for having

ing adviſed his majeſty to violate the laws of nations with regard to Spain. The abuſe was induſtriouſly circulated even in hand-bills. If adminiſtration did not propagate the abuſe, ADMINISTRATION NEVER CONTRADICTED IT. I will not ſay what advice I did give to the king. My advice is in writing, ſigned by myſelf, in the poſſeſſion of the crown. But I will ſay, what advice I did not give to the king: I did not adviſe him to violate any of the laws of nations.

" As to the report of the gentleman's preventing in ſome way the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was ſpoken of ſo confidently, that I own I am one of thoſe who did believe it to be true.

" The gentleman muſt not wonder he was not contradicted, when as the miniſter, he aſſerted a right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but *there is a modeſty in this houſe* which does not chuſe to contradict a miniſter. I wiſh gentlemen would get the better of this modeſty. If they do not, perhaps, the collective body may begin to abate of its reſpect for the repreſentative. Lord Bacon had told me, that a great queſtion would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that at the proper ſeaſon, the German war: my German war, they called it. Every ſeſſions I called out, has any body any objections to the German war? No body would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, ſince removed to the upper houſe, by ſucceſſion to an ancient barony," (meaning lord le Deſpencer, formerly ſir. Francis Daſhwood;) he told me, " he did not like my German war " I honoured the man for it, and was ſorry when he was turned out of his poſt.

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" A great deal has been ſaid without doors, of the power, of the ſtrength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiouſly meddled with. In a good cauſe, on a ſound bottom, the force of this country can cruſh America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the ſkill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has ſerved in America, out of which you may not pick a man of ſufficient knowledge and experience, to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp-Act, when ſo many here will think it a crying injuſtice, I am one who will lift up my hands againſt it.

" In ſuch a cauſe, your ſucceſs would be hazardous. — America, if ſhe fell, would fall like the ſtrong man. She would embrace the pillars of the ſtate, and pull down the conſtitution along with her. Is this your boaſted peace? Not to ſheath the ſword in its ſcabboard, but to ſheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourſelves, now the whole houſe of Bourbon is united againſt you? While France diſturbs your fiſheries in Newfoundland, embarraſſes your ſlave trade to Africa, and with-holds from your ſubjects in Canada, their property ſtipulated by treaty; while the ranſom for Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror baſely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman, (colonel Draper) whoſe noble and generous ſpirit would do honour to the proudeſt grandee of the country. The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madneſs by injuſtice. Will you puniſh them for the madneſs you have occaſioned? Rather let prudence and temper

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come firſt from this ſide. I will undertake for America, that ſhe will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, ſo applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

" *Be to her faults a little blind:*
" *Be to her virtues very kind.*

" Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the houſe what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp-Act be REPEALED ABSOLUTELY, TOTALLY, and IMMEDIATELY. That the reaſon for the repeal be aſſigned, becauſe it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the ſame time, let the ſovereign authority of this country over the colonies be aſſerted in as ſtrong terms as can be deviſed, and be made to extend to every point of legiſlation whatſoever. That we may bind their TRADE, confine their MANUFACTURES, and exerciſe every POWER whatſoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their conſent!"——

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